

A  
REMONSTRANCE  
Concerning the present  
Troubles,  
From the meeting of the ESTATES  
of the Kingdome of SCOTLAND,  
*Aprill 16. unto the Parlia-  
ment of ENGLAND.*



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Printed in the year of God, 1640.

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WHEN we look unto the  
 Records of the ages past,  
 to find out the greatest  
 blessings that God hath  
 bestowed on this I L E  
 wherein wee live, we can-  
 not but acknowledge,  
 that next to the Christian  
 Faith, the Union of the  
 two Kingdomes, under one  
 Head, doth by many degrees exceed all other that  
 fall in the reckoning. Many practises and policies  
 were set a-foot by our Princes of old, to hasten this  
 work: but all in vain did the plots of men strive to  
 crosse or prevent the counsell of God, who had re-  
 served for us and our fathers that singular happines,

to see that Union begun neither by a breach of faith, nor by blood; but as the gift of God, to fall in our hands by the ordinarie gate which the Princes right sets open unto all, and the generall and common interest of both Nations, did heartily receive and embrace. With what successe this Union hath begun and continued to this day, the peace and plenty wee have enjoyed all this time, can witnesse in part, whiles all the rest of *Europe* almost, round about us, hath been a field of blood and desolation. What apprehension the enemies of our Religion had at our peaceable conjunction, and with what eye of jealousy the neighbour States did look upon us, and envy our hapines, the Historie of these times can beare record: but for the present, in regard of what hath passed these many years bygone, and what we presently feel and fear, we may truely confesse to our owne guilt and great dishonour, that neither *Scotland* nor *England* unto this day hath rightly understood or made use of this rare blessing of Heaven, for increasing their respect abroad, or securing their own safetie at home; neither have the reformed Churches found that comfort and relief which they did expect from us in the day of their distresse, but on the contrary wee have been made, even against our wills, a broken reed, a rock of offence, and a shipwrack unto all that have sought unto us for shelter from the storme; and to our selves the one Nation against the other, a rod of correction and jealousy, in the hands of a few wicked and ungodly men, men of separation, who divide the King from his people, and the people from their King; and who raise up brethren against brethren, that they in  
the



the end might prey and make havock of all. Amongst many that have been authors of these evils under which the two Kingdomes have for a long time groaned, and belike must either now or never be disburthened, none deserve so justly to be challenged in the first place as some amongst you who call themselves Churchmen, but have left their station to become ignorant and unhappy Statesmen, who have made the Church and the Tenets thereof, an instrument of bondage to the subject, of libertie to themselves, and of unjust usurpation to the Prince, whom wee had reason to feare long agoe, by your example, and whom we find named as the chief instrument and object of your just feares of the change of Religion and government of Estate in the Kingdome of *England*, in that grave and solemne Remonstrance that was made not many years ago, by the house of Commons, to the Kings Majestie, if that hath stopped them any way, your pulpits and pamphlets can bear witnes for them and the rest of their crue since that time, yea how constant they are to these wretched ends, their attempts upon us, and that deep plot of obtruding the seeds of all Popish superstition and tyrannie, upon our Kirk, in the books of Common Prayer, and Canons, will be a strong evidence for them how much they have deserved of *Rome*, to make that Kirk which had departed farthest from her, to be first in the return, & exemplar unto others; and how much more they may yet deserve of them, and all the enemies of those two Kingdomes, if they offer for a sacrifice in a bloudie Warre, the Religion and Liberties of both the Nations, to appease the

furie of their present disappointment, and prevent the shame of their deserved fall.

Certainly the posteritie will hardly beleeeve ( as wee who have seen it cannot but wonder ) how it hath come to passe, that the Subjects of *Scotland*, ( whose Union with *England* this day is knowne to be of greater force, for her assurance at home, and strength abroad, than all the alliances, practises, policies, conquests your Princes have made from the beginning ) should have so long petitioned their native Prince residing amongst you to do them Justice, whereof he is debtor to his people, and to hear their just complaints against the usurpation of a few men, who were undermining the professed Religion and government of the State, and to suffer them to live according to their Lawes, and yet could never be heard nor answered in the point of their just desires; far lesse will they guesse what hath been the ground of that merit and trust of one domineering Prelat in the affection of the Prince, that it should be more forcible to dissuade, than all the supplications and intercessions of so ancient and faithfull a Nation, who amongst all the Kingdomes of *Europe* have longest continued and maintained in one Line the honour of the Royall Crowne, together with the preservation of their own Liberties, should have power to moove. Truly for our selves when we call to mind what courage and constancie God hath given unto us since the beginning of these Troubles, to stand for the maintenance of our Religion and Liberties, that wee have not suffered our selves to be drawne headlong unto the servitude of soules and bodies, from which there

there had been no hope of Libertie for us or our posteritie, and which in regard of our conjunction with you under one King, had been a violent prejudice, and of dangerous consequence for your Liberties: when they come to bee questioned in their own time and place; and on the other part when we remember what strange and violent wayes were taken by our adversaries to keep from the *English* nation the knowledge of our affaires, and what unjust and false aspersions were laid upon all our actions and intentions, to provoke you to be actors of that revenge that was determined against us by the insolent advice of such, who now governe his Majesties Counsels, and settle their own ill acquired greatnes by the oppression of his obedient Subjects in their Religion and Liberties in both Kingdomes, we cannot but blesse God who armed us with an invincible patience and resolution to eschew for our part, to the uttermost of our power any Nationall breach: For yee may remember when contrary to our expectation, his Majesty by all the evil counsell of those men, did march towards us with an Armie, we neglected all courses which might advance our humane safetie, rather than start from any jot of our obedience, or give any seeming distaste to our dear brethren of *England*, and rather adventured the ruine of our own Countrey, than indangered theirs: Yea further, when we did with horror and amazement hear those unexampled Proclamations given out against a whole Nation, who were never tainted with the least thought of disobedience to their Prince his just commands, according to the rule of their Lawes. Notwithstanding of this great provocation,

there

there was nothing to be heard amongst us but vowes for his Majesties prosperitie, and hearty desires from all to spend their blood for the encrease of his estate, and service of his Crown, and who abhorred than to be reduced to that extremitie, as to arme themselves for their own defence & preservation. It will scarcely be beleevd by Strangers, by what means two Nations so near together, and so straitly tyed in all the bonds of goodwill and mutuall respect, where there was so little cause of espousing these quarrells, wherein none of the Nations were concerned or wronged by the other in their own proper rights, should bee brought to such a posture. and near so dangerous a rupture, that would not been easily (to say no more) peeced up again in our dayes; but it was the work of God, and it should be wonderfull in our eyes, who in the carriage of all this great busines, hath made every stopp and lett, casten in by the adversary, a step of advancement, to the furthering of his cause, as is well known and acknowledged by all whom G O D hath honoured to be the least instruments in this work, who also made this a singular meane to testifie our loyaltie, and the sinceritie of our hearts, where wee presented our humble and just desires unto his Majesty, and for the honour of the cause which wee maintain, and the tender regard to the credit of our own Prince (although than armed against his own people) and for the brotherly respect unto the Nobilitie, and others of our neighbour Nation, intending nothing, we beleevd, but to follow the King, although reallie satisfiying the ambition and blood-thirsting revenge of a miserable Prelat. We laboured in the treatie

tie to give all satisfaction on our part that could be required of most loyall Subjects, and sensible of our Kings honour (our enemies being judges) event to our own apparant disadvantage, for we delivered all places into his Majesties hands, which were desired, in testimonie of our obedience, and although they might have been in our hands, pledges of assurance for performance of these articles that were agreed to be granted in the following Assembly, and Parliament; and now contrarie to our expectation are turned for engines of terror, and fetters of slaverie to frustrate us from obtaining the benefit of that capitulation. Notwithstanding of all breach of promise we cannot but professe according to our tender respect to our Prince, wherein we are inwardly grieved for the dishonour that is done to his Majestie by the bad instruments that are about him, that neither we were then over-reached, nor do we yet repent upon our part for that great trust and confidence we reposed upon his Majestie; for we did then remember that we were dealing with our Prince, with whom as we should not strive for appurtenances, when the maine was granted, so we might rest assured, that if hee could not be brought in his own minde to judge aright how farre hee had been misled against us his own people, who had given such an ample testimony of our trust, and of the interest wee should have in his favour above all other, but still continue to pursue any advantages to our prejudices: wee did not otherwise think but when ever he had a minde to breake, he could never want ill grounded pre-

tences to alledge against us; and it was fittest for  
 us rather to hazard the disadvantage, and commit  
 the successe to God what ever prejudice we should  
 suffer ; for if the word of a King which should be  
 the oracle of truth to his people, and the faith of  
 promises and contracts under hand and seal, which  
 is the ground-work of trust in all humane society,  
 and is sacred and inviolable amongst Infidels and  
 Turks; may not justly challenge for us the perfor-  
 mance of the articles of the treatie upon his Maje-  
 sties part, then may we truly think that nothing we  
 could have framed or desired than, would have been  
 for our safety of any avail unto us , as nothing  
 had done us good or succeeded according to our  
 minde in all these things we have condescended un-  
 to ( whereunto we were not obliged by any duetie  
 or respect whatsoever; otherwise then that we might  
 not be defrauded of the full and reall performance  
 of the articles of agreement ) but on the contrarie  
 it doth evidently appear by all that hath past, that  
 there hath been no desire nor meaning of peace in  
 the hearts and minds of our adversaries unto this  
 day; for all the businesse of the capitulation hath  
 been taken by them as a cloak to cover their more  
 cunning and craftie designs, hoping thereby to  
 weaken us in time by their wicked policie, whom  
 they could not then overcome by open force: ma-  
 king us a show to dissolve all forces on either side  
 that they might lay the foundation of a more dure-  
 able warre, by setting strong Garisons on the Bor-  
 der, receiving the strong holds of the Kingdome  
 to be kept after that condition they were in be-  
 fore

fore these troubles began, and presently preparing them for nests of violence to the chief parts of the Kingdome: Calling forth by his Majesties letters a great number of our chief men under weak pretences of businesse (when all the matters of the treatie had been ended with a few of that number) unto Barwick, and when some of them came, keeping matters in the clouds untill the rest were come, and sending them back again like stales to bring in their fellows, and when this did not hold, laying than plots deep and a farre off to entrap some of our principall men, as God hath wonderfully discovered since, and will more and more to the confusion of these who have been authours and abettors to such base assassins. And which hath been the master-piece of their subtrill device: suffering the Assembly to go on and determine all matters of the Kirk that had been in question, The Commissioner in the Kings name consenting to al the acts that passed, promising also to ratifie them all in the Parliament that was presently to follow, plotting hereby that what they gave with the one hand, they would take away with the other; for this seeming of settling matters in the Assembly, and withholding the civill sanction of the Parliament for their being and existance in the Common-wealth, as it would make them reallie of no effect, so it did gain a colour and pretext to that designe they did most intend: that the next rupture, to which they were preparing, should not bee for matters of Religion which were all settled in the Assembly, as they did alledge, but for other civill differences in the Common-wealth; and truly in all

appearance the matters of the Kirk were settled in that Assembly, with the consent of the Commissioner, but that wise men began to doubt of the sinceritie of the work, when they found him by his after-declarations and explanations digging a posterne to escape and make way, for his after denyall of what had been concluded. And in these tearms the Parliament did begin, and hath continued not to settle the affairs of the Kirk as was promised, and was certainly expected by us: but to bring in a precedent of servitude ( which neither we nor our fathers were acquainted with ) and so it hath been broken off and adjourned, by his Majesties own authoritie, without consent of the Estates, which is directly against the laws and practises of this Kingdome, and contrary to the articles of agreement: And although our predeceffours took another course, yet we came onely with supplications and prayers, and to shew our invincible obedience unto his Majestie, sent up our Commissioners to *London*, who were rejected, and never seen nor heard, and yet hoping with this unexampled patience to overcome the malice of our adversaries, we send up again our Commissioners with propositions that were so just as that they contained nothing but what was before granted unto us, under his Majesties hand and seal, nor could receive any denyall from a pious and just Prince, as being all comprehended in this. And which had been the summe and subject of all our supplications, protestations, informations, declarations, from the beginning, namely, that the fundamentall laws of the Kingdome, which had been violated,



lated, and the Religion which was manifestly infringed, might in a free Assembly and Parliament be again confirmed, and the unworthy authours legally questioned, and which had been more expressly set down in the articles of pacification, that as there according to the tenor of the articles of agreement, all matters civill were to be judged by Parliaments, and all Ecclesiasticall matters by the assemblies of the Kirk; And that as the Assembly promised by his Majestie had been granted and had concluded the differences of the Kirk, so his Majestie would not delay or deny the conclusion of the Parliament, for ratifying the acts of this Assembly, and settling other differences of the Common-wealth, as was fully agreed in that treatie at the Kings camp, yet these propositions and desires being so necessarie and vitall unto this Kingdome could finde no access unto the ears of the gracious King, by reason of the powerfull diversion of the Archbishop of *Canterburie*, and Deputie of *Ireland*, who (strengthened with the high and mightie faction of Papiests near his Majestie) onely side in all matters of spirituall and temporall affairs, and makes the necessity of their service to his Majestie appear in being the onely fit instruments (under the pretext of vindicating his Majesties honour) to oppresse both the just liberties of his free Subjects, and the true reformed Religion in all his Kingdomes. In which devilish designe, we have great cause to say they are far advanced, if the granting of a free Assembly and Parliament to us at this time, which hath been the ground of all our just desires from the beginning, and the conclu-

sion of the treatie this last year, as the onely mean to cure all the evils of Kirk and State, and settle the peace and welfare of both Kingdomes Prove in the end, as it appeareth this day, like the Councel of *Trent* to the Christian Kirk, which was appointed for reforming the abuses thereof, yet through the ambition and covetousnesse of Kirk-men, and the miserable jealousies of the Princes of the time, who minded more their private end and interest then the cause of Christ and his Kirk, was found in effect the active engine and instrument to establish and settle the tyrannie of the Pope and his Clergie: wherefore the greater and more lively are our apprehensions of danger at this time, that all these crooked and crosse plots, interchecking one another, in denying a Parliament to us, where it was promised upon the honour of a King, and for the safetie of two such nations; in granting it unto you, where it was not expected, for the reasons that all wisemen cannot but remember; and inforcing one upon *Ireland*, where none is desired: Giving out commissions to destroy us before we can apprehend any other or new guiltinesse, but that we have been constant futers for the conclusion of the Parliament, and the fulfilling of the articles of the treatie, raising our Parliament contrary to the laws, and the expresse articles of the agreement; inforcing Garisons upon us, that they might force us to a necessary denyall of such unreasonable demands, and to a necessity to provide for our selves; that all these, we know, are done and devised to pick a quarrell, and to be the ground of a false and a wyre-drawn remonstrance against us,

and

and now by the particular instigation of these men we named before, a mightie armie is preparing, and an utter ruine threatned to our religion and countrey. Left in regard of these premisses, our silence in so necessary a time should argue a neglect of our duty to God and our King, the safety and honour of our Countrey, the peace and welfare of both the Nations, what so neerly trenches to the prejudice and hazard of all these, cannot be longer forborne; Therefore we professe before the Christian world, and to our dear brethren in *England*, especially the representative Body of the Kingdome, now happily convened in both the Houses of Parliament, whom it most concernes, that wee cannot otherwise judge and esteeme, but that all these Counsels that have been given of late by these intemperat Counsellors, who direct the course of all affaires, do not onely proceed from such persons as to serve their own ends under colour of advancing his Majesties prerogative, doe weaken Royall power, and bring the Kingdomes unto confusion; but that they truly are first hammered in *Spain* and in the *Conclave*, and put into the hand of their cunning artificers among you, who have ever been a viperous brood, which with tooth and naile, have assayed to rent the bowels of their own mother, yea who never sooner learned to obey the Roman Church as their mother, but as soone they acknowledged the Catholick King for their father, and their own King for an usurper, if they think him to be an Heretick. So that we are perswaded that neither the invincible Armado of the eighty eight, nor the Gun-powder plot, nor any other Royall Navie from thence, like  
unto.

unto that which came the other year upon your coast, (the which yee had the more reason to suspect that it came so unlooked for and at so unseasonable a time) needs to be attempted any more for the ruine of this Ile, but onely that they be carefull (as we doubt not they are) that the fire of this civil waire which hath been so long smoaking may bee once kindled, and that they be ready under-hand to adde fewell to the flame, wherein they will not be wanting, especially where every thing is so near that can furnish matter, and all is far off that can help to extinguish the same, when it is once begunne; yea, which is worse for us all, when it is apparant, that it cannot be settled without great hazard even of them that may seem to overcome in the end: And although that we may justly suspect that this calling of you together at this time by their suggestion, who have raised this fire of civil discord in this famous Isle without your consent or advice, bee rather to perswade you to bring oyle then water to quench the flame, so that in the heat of these broyles you may be induced to contribute to the overthrow of your best friends, while they avenge themselves of their enemies: Notwithstanding of this, we hope that it will not be displeasent unto all good men in these honourable assemblies of both houses, that we with great joy of heart and freedome of spirit professe and declare, as we do this day, that all our obligations and mutuall assurances of love and brotherly kindnesse are so nearly twisted and joyned together with you in all dueties toward God and man, Prince and people, that we cannot but have the same friends and  
foes,

foes, either in the defence of our common safety against forraigne foes, or in the maintenance of our severall rights against inward and homebred underminers who are more dangerous, except wee would depart from the onely firme rule of our own safety and preservation. And therefore since in regard of the situation of this whole Isle, and the Union under one Head, we are all, as it were, one house, if it fall we shall be all buried in the ruines, wee are all imbarqued in one ship, if it perish or split upon the rocks of division, hardly can we escape: Suffer us to rejoyce with you in the midst of this storme, for this first sunne-shine of comfort and good hope that we see you who are the true Pilots, brought to the helme: And give us leave to conjure you for the interest we have in the common adventure of these rich goods, our peace, our liberties, our Religion, which are all in one hold, that ye abandon not the ship of the Common-wealth in this tempest, although it did belong to you to have been called when the season was more calme; & yet let it be the true ground of your comfort and encouragment, that when the skie was clear, you have forewarned our great Master, of the clouds that were gathering, and although the windes were invisible then to most, yet to many of your house of Commons, and others also of all ranks; they that did blow then to gather these clouds together, were well known, and from what coast they came, and many humble desires and earnest sutes have been made by you to his gracious Majestie, that he would not abandon his own and the Kingdomes safety, unto the pleasure of men in a voyage

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age full of dangerous and fearfull straits, in the conduct of which, they had nothing but their own ambition and privat gaine, for compasse and sail. And who havethrust both Prince and people out of the safe harbour of the quiet calme unto this present storme, wherein they are to make profit of both our shipwrack, if in this strait it were not allowed to the meanest passenger to give warning of the imminent danger, we notwithstanding of our place and interest in your welfare might hold our peace : but since we have been in the first watch, and have endured the first and greatest torment of this storme, while you have been at rest ; for your assurance that wee cannot abandon you, or leave you alone on your turne, when you are so near to give tryall of your courage and skill, you may perceive by what hath passed, that no Assembly nor Parliament, no rotten cable, and slipping anchor of Articles and agreement, whereunto we had fastened our hopes, can be any road and harbour of safety unto us, so long as both our enemies sit at the helme and governe all courses that are to be followed amongst you. Therefore before we come to advise what are in our judgement the most fitting means for removing of the evils of us both, give us leave to touch in passing what wee apprehend have been the maine concurrent causes to bring you by degrees from that hight of happinesse, wherein sometime ye were glorious in the sight of *Europe*, to this gulf of miserie and abasement wherein ye have fallen, and drawne us by example and imitation, that in this sad representment, as in a dark shade, the glorious light of your appearing day may be

be more comfortable and refreshing unto us both, which is the heartie wish and assured hope of your dear brethren in *Scotland*, because of the sensible feeling of that great mercy of God upon themselves, who have been farther in the transgression, and at a lower ebbe in minde and spirit, then ye can well imagine before their troubles beganne; therefore because our evils are not of yesterday, and could not have overflowed the face of this Isle on a sudden, let us search up unto the well head and period of time, where and when they began first to spring and arise, when we left to fear others by reason of our Union, then beganne wee to have need to look for evill from our selves : the subtile enemies of this Isle knowing that what was not to bee attempted by open force, wasto be undertaken and pursued by cunning and secret practises, took the advantage of the humours of men, following commonly the nature and the conditions of the times, did make the sursets and ease of peace more dangerous to the life of the Estate, then the straits and hazards of warre had been before, disposing the subjects to ease and slaverie, and inuring the Prince to follow their appetite and the rules of uncontrolled power: then beganne the publick wayes of honour and reputation to be unfrequented: then the use of Parliaments which is the stay and strength of your Kingdome to be suspected, and so these eyes and eares of the Prince and People, the great Councell of the Land did make way peece and peece to the dark passages of the corner of a Cabinet, where flatterie, malice, envy and partialitie amongst few hands, disguises with false appearances without con-

trollall that comes in their handling, and makes the people miserable, & the Prince infortunat, since they have gotten footing, Parliaments have been called not to ease the grievances of the subject, but to supply the necessities of the Prince, and so whereas they should have helped to cure, they have increased the diseases of the Estate: and because there can be no e-vill humour in the body that can master your skill, if you please to apply fitting remedies, and what have been formerly in practise, therefore you are made to disagree amongst your selves about the method of the cure, and when you begin to incline to an agreement, your consultations are broken off, and so by these meanes the Common-wealth languisheth without hope of relief, the Princes mistakes, and the Peoples grief and burthens doe equally increase, and every breach of a Parliament begets a new grievance and maladie to the People, so much the more dangerous and deadly, that the Authors of these abuses ( when you use not your courage and constancie to maintain that power and place which your Predecessors have put in your hands, and whereof the posterity will call you to accompt, as a right of entaile and their proper inheritance which cannot be weakened in your hands without your eternall infamie, and their endlesse losse ) beginne to despise you, and take courage to undermine and blow up the foundation of your once well settled Estate: bringing you in contempt with the people, for the guard of whose Liberties you have so long continued, and in hatred with the Prince, for whose honour and safetie it hath alwayes been, that none about him should be more power-



powerfull nor the Lawes, and nearer him in place and affection, then you whose Counsell could not be corrupted by ends: these are they who bringing you once to mind your own things, and to be carelesse of the publick, have teachd the Princes, that all the rights and liberties of the Subject, and the maintenance of them, are doales of grace, and gifts of meere favour proceeding from the Prince, (and not the true birth-right of the Subject, which they may truly challenge) which are to be continued or changed as their Princes shall think fit: who have teachd Princes to use that maxime in a free Kingdome to wrong ends: Parliaments are in their power to beginne, continue, and break them off, as they find the fruit of them good or bad, so are they to have their being, or not to be at all: thus they have done what is in them to make the Royall authority, which should be like a Sunne beame shining for the comfort and light of others, turne to a Comet and blazing star, a matter of wonder and admiration for the time; and a prognostick of worse things to follow. Truly the prerogative of the Prince, which hath been kept in veneration, and as a secret untouched amongst the wisest Princes and the best times; which is that which the Lawes have given him above all private men, for the common safetie of us all, and cannot be used to another end, but for our good, had not suffered so much in it self, and lost of its proper lustre, by the oft and common handling thereof, to the manifest prejudice of the Subjects right, and the reall weakening of the true Royall power, had it not falne in some of your Cleargies hand, who to the staine of the Kirk

and the bane of the Common-wealth, have subjected all men, and all Lawes, to the appetite of the Prince, of whom they have the absolute rule, that so under that goodly visour of his Royall power, they may accomplish at last that great designe of the change of the Religion and government of the Estate which they have so long aimed at : whereof they cannot faile in this happie conjuncture, where all things promisses them good successe. A Prince enraged against his own native people, by their procurement, who will not be perswaded that they are good Subjects to him, because they are avowed enemies to them, who have been the destroyers of their Religion, and the troublers of the peace of the Kirk, to whom it is necessary that he forget that he is their naturall Prince, while he remembers that hee is advanced to be the Monarch of the whole Ile, and with whom of necessity he is obliged to continue this quarrell, that under the pretext of their rebellion, he may have leisure to arme, and make the one Kingdome a scourge to the other, while in the end they both become slaves, which if they refuse, hee cannot eschew of force to bring in strangers, and use such other power as God hath put in his hands ( by the doctrine of these good divines ) to the establishing of the boundlesse government whereat they aime, so by the joint help of the Papist, who are a strong faction amongst you of late, and of others, whom they call good subjects, and are the greatest number, who while they are going on in any course to help themselves, cannot think they are accomptable to God or man for any wrong they are doing to others, these also concurring who  
are

are of great number and of no small force in any state, who are content to wear fetters themselves, so they may be of gold, and they have the making of them, or help thereunto for others, all these meeting together, they cannot misse to effectuate their designs, and these are they who look at this time to undo us, and hope assuredly to work you to their ends. And for this effect, as it appears, are ye called together after so many breaches and breaking up of Parliaments in *England*, whereby his Majestie had been deprived of the faithfull counsels and free aides of his people heretofore, and the pressures and grievances of the Subjects daily more and more increased without hope of relief, that all men ( who looked upon the train of affairs, and marked what undue courses had been taken of late, that there should be no need of their meeting, and how the number and hight of offenders is increased, for whose safety it is not that Parliaments come in place and request again ) may justly marvell to see this day, and in all liklihood conjecture that either this Parliament will prove the happiest that ever was in this Isle for the good and peace of the Kingdomes, or else ( which God forbid ) will become the fatall ingine and axetree in our enemies hand, for the overthrow of Kirk and State, turning our doubts unto despairs, and our fears into a certainty of confusion. Wherefore the more need have all good men who love the truth of Religion, the honour of the King, the safetie of the Kingdomes in so necessarie and perillous a time, to be instant with God by fasting and prayer, that as the beginning of your meeting together is the  
subject:

subject of all mens fears and hopes, good, or bad, so the close may be in fruit and memorie, the joy of the present age, and the blessing of posteritie, whereof there is no small ground of hope at this time; for if that spirit of wisedome, courage, and true zeale for the good of Religion and safety of King & Kingdomes do but begin as in former time to appear in your Counsels, who knoweth what recompence God is preparing for your often disappointments in that kinde: the which we are moved the rather to beleieve and expect, that the powerfull hand of God hath forcibly led them who have been the authours of your evils, and actours in the mischief intended against us; against their will to call for your assistance to oppresse us: and surely wee think that what Art can invent, and malice can do, will not be wanting ( even amongst some of your number ) to move the rest to consider aright of all the advantages of the time, and reconceal the differences that are amongst themselves and labour to seek the ease of your own burthens when you may have them at an easie rate with small expence and paines, to encrease ours, and many specious pretences will be offered, to hide the bad intentions of a few, and the ill consequences of their privat designs against the publick quiet of the Kingdomes, but certainly a thick cloud of prejudices and misrepresentations of all our busineses most assuredly be casten before your eyes, and great must that darknes be, before so wise, so advised a Judicatorie of all the choice wits in that Kingdome condescend to that resolution which in effect carrieth with it, in furthering the overthrow of our Religion  
and

and Liberties, and in the buriall thereof to beginne and digg a tomb for your own to follow , and to make the end of this Parliament a meane that there should never be need of any hereafter. But wee expect ( Right Honourable ) better things of you, and such as belong properly to the happinesse of this time, for the glory of God in the advancement of his truth, for the honour of the King in punishing of the wicked, for the welfare of the Kingdomes, that in our Union they may be crushed, who in our division have builded their hopes, and made this warre with your brethren, the Trojan horse to bring in all these calamities, which a Civill warre will undoubtedly inforce upon this Ile, and we are certainly perswaded that the singular wisdome and justice of your Honourable Court, which can have no other end in all their Councell, but the service of his Majesty, and the safetie of his Kingdomes ( which cannot be separate in any consideration whatsoever ) will judge otherwise of the state of our affairs, and afford us better measure then we have found as yet at the hands of these men, who as they have beene the Authors of our evill , and of that corruption that was creeping in, in Kirk and State, so have both you and we suffered much more by them, and have greater reason to complain of the inconvenience and mischief of the remedie that they have applyed since, then of the disease it self : In vain doe they think to cover their wicked designs with the bare pretext of their zeale and affection to his Majesties greatnes and dignity, seeing it tends to the ruine and destruction of his faithfull Subjects , whose riches is his treasure,

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whose

whose quiet is his glory, whose hearts and affections are his strong garisons that cannot be overcome, and whose prosperity is the happiness of his Crown; and miserable and wretched are the effects of that power, which produceth nothing but weakness to the Prince, and calamities to his Subjects, and in vain do we expect that God will bless in our age what he hath cursed in all ages before. Let us look unto the Records of former ages, and we shall ever find, that there is not any thing that doth so much move the wrath of God, as to see his worship and Churches profaned, and to fall into the hands of these who have sold themselves to the world, and are devoted to the Temporall service of the Prince: where ever it hath been practised, it is a certain demonstration of the alteration and change of an Estate, and of their miseries and disgrace who abuse it licentiously, their affaires alwayes declining even unto their end. We need not put you in mind of the sturres and hot contests of your best Princes, and of greatest spirit, with your Archbishops at home, to keep down that Papacie they claymed to themselves amongst you, and to suffer them to be Kings beside them, which could not be granted but at their discretion: they that look to the dangers of this time, and who they are that be the Authors of this mischief intended, may easily perceive, that if all the Subjects of the two Kingdomes could be moved to undergoe that burthen the Bishop of *Canterburie* and his followers would put upon us, and could be perswaded in conscience, that we were bound to obey these spirituall fathers in all their commands, we should soone see they would alledge some other ground

ground for their aspiring greatnes, then the zeale of his Majesties service and honour: and the Princes that are to follow would find, that all their paines was for themselves, and to establish their own tyranny over Prince and People. Or, are there any so ignorant and wilfully blind to think, that all that spight and malice they carry to the Covenant of *Scotland*, is, because that it hath weakened the Kings power, and made his Majestie appeare so in the sight of his enemies? If this were true, then would the Pope and the King of *Spaine* give many millions that the like were in *England* and *Ireland*: they need not dissemble, we know where it pricks them. they see the hand of God in it against their unjust usurpation and worldly pomp, and they fear, that as they have found it a wall of brasse to the Subjects of *Scotland* against the fury of their malice, when they could have no protection, neither in their laws nor in their Prince, in whose saving favour they may claim speciall interest, so it may prove by example dangerous to them elswhere, and at once put an end to all these plots and designs they have to overthrow the reformed Religion: And this is the cause they charge it and us with many crimes, to plant the hatred of us and that cause in the hearts of others, which is already ingraven in theirs; but we are assured the equitie, justice, and wisdom of your Court will be farre from thinking this a sufficient ground of quarrell betwixt the two Nations, because we demand to enjoy the benefit of our laws, and the exercise of our Religion; if this bee a cause that any of your Nation should come to assaile us, or any part of the power of that

Kingdome should be imployed to that use, you would not have taken it in ill part or think we had done you wrong, if the like course had been taken by us when there were any contests and dispute betwixt his Majestie and you in your Parliaments for the rights of the Subject : But as we have alwayes wished you good successe unto your Parliaments, so can we not think that the paines we have taken to maintaine our own rights, can be grievances unto you, or of evill example to weaken your estate, or move you to destroy us. Princes when they are misled by evill counsell, may easily begin warre at their pleasure; but since the Subjects blood must determine the controversie, it were necessarie that they who have so great a part of the hazard, should also know their quarrell. And since civil warre and homebred division, as inward diseases are more hard to cure then these that are without, wee are tyed in all respects to seek to prevent them before they come. And whereas by all that hath passed, we may perceiue that these who are chief actors in these troubles, seek by all means to have us engaged, the more should our care bee to preserve our selves by their disappointment, and by a seasonable remeid, provide for the safetie of our selves and posteritie. The readiest meane for the present that can come in our consideration is this, that as when the treatie of the Union was intended, but did not take effect, the two Parliaments did sit, and did appoint their Commissioners to treat thereanent ( with expresse reservation of their own Lawes and Liberties ) and to report their proceedings back againe to them  
that



that sent them ; so now when the two Nations are ready to be plunged in a bloody warre, to the overthrow of the Liberties of both. Our soules desire is, that his Majestie would be pleased to appoint the like or any other meane whereby the Parliaments may sit freely, and without feare of force , and by their Commissioners appoint time and place , where by their scanning the equitie or inquitie of our demands may be fully weighed, that we may no longer suffer by false and artificiall relations , but they bee naturally knowne as they are, and their fraud and hypocrisie discovered ( if there be any ) for wee shunne no tryall which is not inconsistent with a free and independent Kingdome , and which the Kingdome of *England* would choose in the like case of the quarrelling of their Lawes and Liberties ; the King being resident amongst us ; for which end if his Majesties forces may be discharged, and his further Levies suspended, we will most gladly disband , and leave off any that we are preparing for our own necessary and just defence, which otherwise we cannot doe without our own apparant ruine, neither can the Parliament sit with any securitie in either Kingdome, if they see a sword drawne over their heads, and this we know the Parliament of *England* in their wisdom will think very reasonable, and the least that can be granted , and will joyne with us in this petition for their own clearing before God and the world , that they have not taken in hand to subdue us by armes, before they have convinced us and made knowne to all true Christians and honest men, for what cause, and upon how great reason,

If this be denied us, as what may we not expect in this kinde, but that the conduct of this affair will be answerable to the first undertaking: And as this plot hath been set on foot for the benefit of strangers, so it will bee continued to the weakening of both the Kingdomes, the overthrow of our Religion, and civill liberties, to the uttermost of their power. So we ( that the close of this discourse may bring in a short view all that hath been touched before ) cannot but beginne with this, that it is just with God to make us feeble the sad effects of civill discord, who have not made the right use of our long enjoyed peace, and that we suffer in the danger and hazard of the cure, who have so long by our tollerance and permission strengthened that ill humour, which is now ready to master the life both of Kirk and State. You are called together who are the great physicians of that State, it is not unfitting for the present occasion to put you in minde of an old tale that belongeth unto your Art: *Philotimus* a physician in Greece, made this answer to one who offered his finger to dresse, by whose face, look and breath, he knew he had an impostume in his lungs, My friend ( saith he ) it is no fit time to busie your self about your nailes: The time was not long since when the greatest question was, whether the bill of tunnage and poundage, or the bill of the Subjects right should be first moved in your House; the times are far changed, the case much altered, before you judge of any matters now, or condemne others; you cannot but looke whether your selves be free, and what right you have, for if the maintenance of our Religion,

on, and the liberties of the Kingdome, be a ground of a quarrell betwixt two Nations that are so nearly joyned, and if it bee judged so in that honourable Court, we cannot see how you can condemne us and acquit your selves: For if it was your glorie to bee the faithfull guardians of the Subjects right, it cannot but blemish your reputation to be found now the overthrowers of your brethrens liberties. If all this motion of a warre with *Scotland*, were truly perceived to be a conception of *Spain* or *Rome*, we do not doubt but for your own interest you would be carefull to strangle this monster in the very first birth; but if you take it for a ready mean to ease your own distressed estate, and that by wronging us you can better your condition. And although we know the conduct of your counsells had ever more honourable and honest grounds, yet let us take it as it may bee propounded to you: can the benefit that is offered to you, countervail your losse? Wee need not bring it nearer, the example is but of yesterday, and cannot be out of your sight. All the Provinces and Princes of France, envied the good estate of the Protestants, the priviledges of their chambers, and the benefite of the edicts they enjoyed, every one did outrunne another to contribute to their ruine, and to endeer themselves by so doing, to these who had the managing of all these affairs; with what successe, they know this day, and all that looks upon them, sees what defence they have left themselves against the regiments of the guards. We write not this as doubting your wisdom and circumspection in a businessse of this nature, that so near concerns your selves, but  
since

since the malice of our adversaries hath prevailed so farre upon our gracious King, that he forgets the affliction of his people, whiles he gives way unto their endlesse malice; who seeks by all means to cut asunder that knot of our obedience, whereby wee are tyed in conscience of our duty to his Majestie, to the observance of the laws; and which is the sure foundation of his Majesties greatnesse, and the Union of the Kingdomes, and which hath holden fast against all the violence of time in so many ages past, and against the force of all adversaries whatsoever to the royall Crowne, the which the more wee labour to preserve, and fence, the more they seeke to undoe, and to put in the place thereof a chaine of violence and force.

We beseech you therefore, right honourable and dear brethren, now conveened in both houses of Parliament, that according to your place and station, you will hear from our selves the true representation of our pressing grievances; and because a link of that chain cannot but approach you also, if it take hold on us: we intreat you to divert in time our gracious King from running headlong unto those violent courses, which cannot but produce in the end lamentable effects both for Prince and people. And since we have just cause of fear, that what hath been begun without your consent, will also be followed contrary to your advise, although we think nothing more properly doth belong unto the justice of that high Court then to provide, that they who have been drawers of his Majestie to this action, so dangerous for himself, and so desperate for the Kingdomes, should

should not passe away unquestioned and unpunished.  
 And nothing could be further from our expectation  
 then that the council of *England* should conclude a  
 warre against us, upon the relation of one man  
 ( brought upon the stage of purpose to act that ma-  
 licious part ) without your consent : whereby it is  
 apparant, that these our adversaries have come to  
 that hight of insolencie, to let all the Subjects see  
 that they have taken to themselves a libertie to  
 throw down the laws of the Kingdome, and laid a  
 necessitie upon us his Majesties own people, as it  
 were to choose their leasure and attend untill  
 they have power, and come and worke our  
 overthrow by sea and land, and that without a  
 warning going before : So now we understand  
 that a restraint is put upon our Commissioners ;  
 Some of them being put in the hands of Sheriffes,  
 some of Justices of peace at London , Contra-  
 ry to our expectation , for who expecting this  
 would either have send or gone in that Commission :  
 Contrary to the Law of Nations ; for we are two di-  
 verse Nations and Kingdomes , and they were sent  
 from a Parliament promised and called by his Ma-  
 jestie, and warranted by his Majestic, to repaire to  
 his presence, and to shew the reasons of our demands.  
 Contrary to the very foundation of our present  
 Treatie ; for a Committee was appointed legally by  
 the authoritie of the Parliament, and necessarily, for  
 keeping correspondence with our Commissioners,  
 and to receive from them his Majesties answers,  
 ( that we wonder any man should be so absurd as to  
 suggest to his Majestic, that it is an unlawfull or pre-  
 sumptuous

sumptuous Committee, or that they have taken upon them the government of the Towne of *Edinburgh*) And that for a long time past, no word or writ cometh from them, and we are put out of hope to heare from them hereafter ; That wee can neither know whether there was any want in their propositions and reasons, or whether there was any thing to bee supplied by us for a full satisfaction, and contrary to the deservings of our Commissioners: for nothing is pretended to have escaped them which might have deserved this captivitie: And as for the present condition of safetie of the Earle of *Southesk*, and Sir *Lewes Stewart* at *Edinburgh*, it can be no true ground thereof; his Majestie being fully informed by their own Letters, how that harmelesse accident of their surprizall came on a suddain by the unexpected folie and rashnesse of the Governour of the Castle, threatning presently upon their dispatch, to discharge all his Ordinance against the Town: And to ring ( as he was pleased to speak ) an uncouth peale of bells in their eares, and ( we may truely adde ) by their own precipitation, and too great haste to speed themselves to the Ports for escaping the common danger ; The multitude not without their owne grounds, conceived that the arresting of them might be a defence to themselves, or at least a delay of the Governours furie. But no sooner were they arrested by the People, but they were rescued by order from the Magistrat, and courteously used by such of the Nobilitie and Gentry as were in the Town. Since that time no violence hath beene done against them, but they have of their own accord, and for their own safetie

safetie stayed in the Town, with such libertie as they think meet to use to repair to the streets, kirks, gardens or whether they wil. And in what equitie can a particular tumult of some few Commons in one City, reflex upon the persons of the Commissioners, sent from the whole Parliament for the whole Nation.

But at the writing hereof we are advertised, that the matter draweth a greater deep, and that the Lord *Lowdown* is committed to the Towre, not upon the shallow pretext of safetie to any arrested heere, but upon his own guiltines, his hand and subscription being found at a Letter directed to the French King from certain Earles and Lords of *Scotland*, for imploring his assistance to their courses : This 'by our adversaries and such as had decreed our destruction before, is already exaggerat and raised to a mountaine, not onely to fall upon the Lord *Lowdown* and others whose hands are found in it, but that al former friends and al indifferent persons may stumble at our Cause, as hereby evidenced to be nothing lesse forsooth then Religion: But the Honourable Houses of Parliament, who are acquainted with the designs and malice of our enemies, and to whom our innocencie intimes past cannot altogether be unknowne, are more grave and wise then upon the hearing or seeing of such a Letter, to precipitate in judgment against us and our Nation, before we be heard. For their satisfaction, and for vindicating ourselves, we are constrained against our hearts in this our Remonstrance, to remember and represent the words of that unexampled Proclamation given at *York* April 25. 1639. otherwise never to have been referred, but buried in

silence, and in studied senselesnes, and which we doe not attribute to the Majestie of our King, but to the base crueltie of our barbarous enemies. The words are thus:

Wee are forced to have recourse to a more sharp and quick way, to cure their obstinacie and rebellion by the sword of Justice: And therefore in that case we doe proclaim all such as shall reject this our free and gracious pardon, and does not returne before the saids eight dayes, to that civill and duetiful obedience, to bee from thenceforth open rebels and traitours to us, our Crown and dignitie, and declare all their lands and possessions, goods and geir, to be forfeited to us, and our Crown, and that wee shall dispose of their lands, possessions, goods and geir, to our well-deserving subjects, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others who shall adhere to us, and obey our just commands. And to this purpose wee discharge all vassals and tennants to any rebels, from making payment to them of any of their rents, dueties, or casualities, and require them to keepe the same in their hands, the one halfe whereof shall bee kept for our use, the other halfe for them selves: promising also to the tennants of the saids rebels, who shall leave their Masters, and assist us to the maintenance of our authoritie, good tearmes of yeares in the estates they possesse, with the diminution of the third at least, if not more, of the dueties they pay, as wee shall finde them to deserve by their good service and readie obedience to us: And to the vassals of such superiours as are rebels, that they shall become our immediat tennants and vassals, and hold their lands and possessions of us, and that for payment of the third part lesse duetie then is contained in their present Charters, and they presently



presently pay to their superiour; providing they adhere to us; and assist not their disloyall superiours, but leave them, and concurre with us for maintenance of our authoritie. And if the superiour be loyall, and the vassals and tennants refuse this our Grace, and to adhere to us, or to concurre with the said superiour in our service. we declare it shall be leasume for the said superiour to expell the said vassals and tennants thus rebellious, forth of their lands and possessions. And what shall accresse to us by the forfeiture of their lands & possessions, we freely dispose, & totally resigne it to the loyall superiour, promising to concurre and assist him for effectuating heereof. And further wee discharge all debtours who are addebted summes of money to any of the saids rebels, to make payment to them of the summes of money addebted to them, or any part thereof; assuring our good subjects, that they shall have retribution out of the same moneyes as wee shall find them to deserve; and so forth as followeth.

Although before this time wee had heard from our Countrey-men abroad, that other States, Princes and Nations, did wonder much that their ears being filled with informations against us, nothing had come from us to make known unto them our cause, or our case & condition: yet still hoping & patiently waiting for a gracious answer to our many humble supplications, wee did abstaine. But our hopes being extinguished by that unexpected declaration, as wee took our swords in our hands at home for our just defence; so we were thinking to send some informations and petitions abroad, especially to the French king, wherein, we trust, no word

hath escaped us, that can either procure the indignation of our own King, or will be found contrary to the duety and loyaltie of good Subjects. And that no lesse could have been said by any Nation, in so great extremitie: yet this was but an imperfect motion, which died in the bud amongst our selves, and never did rise to that ripenesse to be seen of others. When we were so sore threatned, and when execution was coming upon us by a terrible armie, it must be laid to our charge as a fault inextiable, and our Commissioners punished for it, that wee dared so much as to intend to cry to others to interceed for us, when our own supplications could not be heard: Poore souls, we must be beaten, and neither resist, nor complaine: It is therefore our earnest desire that every eye that seeth that innocent Letter, may with the same view look upon the Proclamation given out at that time, and compare them together: And withall, wee desire to be informed what we shall do in the like exigence now when armies are coming against us; if it be not lawfull for us both to cry to God and to men to help us, and to interceed with our King for us. That Letter was written before his Majesties coming to the Camp, and was not concealed by our Noblemen, but made knowne to some of prime qualitie there: If there had been a purpose in the hearts of our enemies, that the articles of pacification should have been observed, this Letter, although it had been sent, and all other quarrels of this kinde, had been by a law of oblivion forbidden to appear. It could not have been a ground of calling the subscribers to quarrell

rell them after the pacification; but the wicked Syco-  
phant and delatour would have been found in the  
transgression, and made the sacrifice. And that there  
be no more doubt in the minde of any good man, we  
have here, upon our faith & honour set down the ve-  
ry words of our instructions subscribed at that time,  
and yet extant, which were not given, but wereto be  
given to the carrier, and unto the which the Let-  
ter it self doth referre:

*To represent the auncient, and strait league betwixt  
the two Kingdomes of France, and Scotland, often re-  
newed, and ever inviolably keeped, for many hundreth  
of yeares, whereby both Nations, have frequently upon  
the distresse of the one, found the benefit of that mutuall  
amitie, by readie succour and assistance of the other,  
which hath ever been crowned with successe, and acknow-  
ledged by interchange of National kindnes, as the Chro-  
nicles of both Kingdomes, and diuerse publick Actes ex-  
tant in the Records doe testifie.*

*To shew that our intentions are nowayes against Mo-  
narchicall government, but that wee are most loyallie  
disposed toward our sacred Sovereigne, whose person and  
authority we wil maintaine with our lifes and fortunes:  
But that al our desires reaches no further then the preser-  
uation of our Religion, and Liberty of Church and King-  
dome, established by the Laws and Constitutions thereof.*

*That the calumnies vented against us by our enemies  
for their own ends, make no impression, because they are  
most manifest untruthes, maliciously forged to stirre the  
envy and discontentment of neighbour Princes, Estates  
& nations against us: Whereas our whole thoughts, words  
actions & proceedings are most legall & loyall, as the  
bearer*

bearer can particularly instruct & make clear at length.

That seeing wee have many times supplicat his Majesty, and have not prevailed, therefore to intreate the King of France, to intercede and mediat with our Sovereigne, to lay down his Armies, intended and raised against us, and to suffer this his ancient and native Kingdome to enjoy her Religion, and Liberties, in peace and freedome under his Majesties authoritie, albeit wee be not diffident of Gods assistance, whensoever wee shall be necessitat to our own defence, which is appoven both by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations.

Our enemies, who catch all pretexts against us, may have enough heere wherewith to please themselves. But when that grave & great Councell shall consider, that the Letter was never sent, and nothing from France or at home shall ever be found that can prove the sending of it abroad, that it was intended upon the hearing of so harsh a Proclamation, and before the pacification, wherein it ought to have been buried, and that it was accompanied with such Instructions, as none but malice it self can censure; for no threats from England, nor preparations in view, can cast us upon resolutions of intertaining forraigne confederations, in such sort as may set up a partition wall betwixt the two Kingdomes: Therefore wee trust they shall finde no more ground of pleasing our enemies, and of grieving us in this, then in our other proceedings, which wee earnestly desire to be unpartially examined by them.

Now against this high and extreame insolencie of our adversaries, which swellerth every day to a greater bignesse and exulceration, and is to break

break out impetuously at their pleasure. Although in obedience to the Law of GOD and nature, wee be thinking upon our preparations for safetie and defence, and for obtaining our often presented humble and just desires, yet nothing but extreame necessitie which hath no Law, shall enforce us to go beyond the bounds of petition and defence, and when that extremitie shall come, (which God in his mercie to both Kingdomes prevent) we trust our cariage shall refute the slanders and reproaches of our enemies: that we are not seeking our selves and our own ends; but with the assistance of all in *England*, who tender their own happines and ours, to petition his Majestie the more powerfully, for receiving right information, and for submitting both all differences, and all those wicked counsellors, who have shaken the foundations of the Kirk, State, and the Kings Throne, unto the judgment and censure of a free Parliament, by which we hope the Gospell of Christ shall be enlarged, both the Kingdomes freed from danger, and our dread Sovereigne made more great and glorious, then any of his Predecessors; which, as it is the end, so it is the unfeigned prayers of us all.

F I N I S.

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